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ABSTRACT

This paper shows how geographic ideas about women have developed and have been structured through two major "views" or paradigms about the nature of social organization itself. These two fundamentally different interpretations of human labor--livelihood and production--which the author calls the ethnographic paradigm and the economic paradigm, have structured the "windows" of seeing and not seeing women in the geographic drama. Structurally the ethnographic paradigm emphasizes an interdependence between the sexes--the economic paradigm, male dominance. Historically these patterns are rooted in and reflect prevailing social attitudes, the most fundamental being "Man's Role, Woman's Place." Sexism within the content of the ethnographic paradigm appeared in the latter part of the 19th century as an exaggerated duality of innate sex difference. Women were seen as maternal, men as intellectual and progressive. Sexism within the economic paradigm reflects more a predisposition toward male centrism in the definition of important domains. Historically the ethnographic paradigm has been important in the description of prehistory or subsistence peoples, while the economic paradigm has been utilized to explain commercial peoples. Since 1920, however, the major tenet of the economic paradigm--the idea that men support women--has been extended into the assessment of subsistence peoples, with a resulting decline in knowledge about women. Neither of these approaches to production deals adequately with the concept of production. (Author/RM)

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PARADIGMS OF PRODUCTION: THEORETICAL BASIS FOR BIAS?

A history of the idea "Man's Role, Woman's Place" in geography.

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers (Los Angeles, CA, April 19-22, 1981).

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...mere associations of ideas, especially when joined with emotions, affect our beliefs, not simply without reason but in spite of reason--causing us, for instance, to think there is something intrinsically repugnant in a place where many painful experiences have been received, and something intrinsically charming in a scene connected with past delights. The liability to such perversions of judgment is greatest where persons are the objects with which pleasures and pains are habitually associated.

H. Spencer, 1875: 246

GLOSSARY

ethnographic paradigm: A body of concepts which becomes a model for conceiving peoples' lifeways as a cultural whole, embodying the interaction of social and material realms. Assumes the interaction of male and female cultural components although not necessarily expressed in explicit terms.

economic paradigm: A body of concepts which becomes a model for conceiving peoples' lifeways as the means by which livelihood is gained in a commercially based society. Assumes the fundamental basis of livelihood to be material or social artifacts/services exchangeable in the marketplace.

explicit: In the context of this work, used in a specific sense as as the clear association of a particular gender to an action, material or social artifact, or symbolism, which may be conveyed by written or photographic examples.

implicit: In the context of this work, used in a specific sense as the presentation of an action, material or social artifact or symbolism, in such a way that is neither directly nor explicitly associated with a particular gender in written or photographic examples but which, from collaborative evidence, can normally be associated with a particular gender.

female associated culture: Actions, material or social artifacts, symbolisms, which (from ethnographic evidence) can normally be associated with women.

male associated culture: Actions, material or social artifacts, symbolisms, which (from ethnographic evidence) can normally be associated with men.

gender balanced: Presentation of material and social life with equivalent clarity for male and female associated culture.

> complementary gender balanced depiction: The presentation of male and female associated culture with equivalent clarity as the complementary interdependence of essential components of culture. Separation or difference of gender roles presumed cultural.
>
> dual gender balanced depiction: The presentation of male and female associated culture as the interaction of separate, qualitatively different. Universal biological or functional differences in gender roles assumed. Equivalent discussion of interdependent realms principally along the assumption that male associated culture is based on cognitive action; female associated culture is based on biological function.

gender biased: Presentation of material and social life of one gender with clarity and fullness, other gender with incompleteness, vagueness, or omission. Biasing may be structurally or stylistically achieved.

male centric: View of lifeway solely in terms of male associated culture.

image: The composite illusion or perception created by selective inclusion and omission of words and pictures; a holistic message including dominant themes which may express powerful ideas without quantitatively dominating a work; bears a likeness to a thing or event but is less well defined than normal scientific representations.

paradigm: A body of concepts which provide a model for a coherent intellectual tradition. Used in science, paradigms serve to implicitly define legitimate research problems, methods of field research, shared rules or standards (Kuhn, 1962: 10-11). These shared beliefs then become the means by which laws, theories, concepts, and points-of-view are abstracted.

In the early decades of this century serious feminist research in a number of fields (Power, ed. and pub. 1975; Mead, 1930; Clark, 1919; Putnam, 1910) was overwhelmed by the rapid refocusing of social science during the 1920s and 1930s. Little attention or controversy attended the study of women until the mid1960s when many of the older issues and questions were resurrected by a new cadre of female researchers.

Innocently, this new era of research question emerged from a strong woman's movement and a new self consciousness about the role of social research in supporting cultural or economic biases. Powerful critiques of standard social science indicated that stereotypes of women, cultural preconceptions of "feminine" character, and other problems had created a body of research flawed at the level of data collection (Favreau, 1977; Murphy and Murphy, 1974: 51-52; Gordon et al., 1972) and at the highest levels of abstraction (Westkott, 1980, Mathieu, 1978; Tilly, 1978; Mednick and Tangri, 1972). Anthropology was criticized for distortion of women and measuring of female experience in male terms (Rogers, 1978) while history had long ago been charged by Mary Beard of being "masculine in design and spirit" (1937: 7).

Early studies of bias focused on textbooks, especially at the elementary school level (several studies are presented in the Hearings before Congress on H.R..208, 1973). Propelled by the belief that endoctrination of children in sex-biased materials constituted a breach of sex discrimination laws for education, a wide appeal for such studies was developed. Publishers voluntarily produced guidelines for removing unconscious sexist language (for example, Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks, n.d., by Scott, Foreman, reprinted in Hearings, 1973).

The cumulative impact of this work was to elucidate a pattern of language concerning male and female attributes presented by these educational texts. Typically males were presented as creative, active, inventive, competent, occupationally oriented, while females were presented as passive, dependent,

incompetent, emotional, and domestic (Report of the Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks, Hearings, 1973: 387; Women on Words and Images, n.d., 7, 16). Other st dies of social science indicated patterns of "invisibility" or omission of women due to the selection of topics and the way they were presented (Glazer, 1977; Slocum, 1975; Schmidt and Schmidt, 1974).

By the mid 1970s the Department of Health, Education and Welfare made it clear that textbook sexism would not be covered under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (for discussion, see Fishel, 1976). Abridgment of first amendment rights was cited. Soon thereafter, publishers stopped publication of guidelines for avoiding sexist language in writing.

Textbook studies continued and new issues were raised. The argument about "sexism" at the higher levels of education did not focus on the socialization issue, but on the question of "good" science and the appeal to accuracy in the reporting of human events. Structural omission of women in history stimulated a series of case studies intended to elucidate women's particular side of social life (Carroll, 1976; Amundsen, 1971). Other disciplines followed in the production of case studies on women (Martin and Voorhies, 1975; Kreps and Clark, 1975; Kreps, 1971; Bernard, 1971). Very few books emerged on the historical context of ideas and intellectual attitudes about women. Sheila Rothman's Woman's Proper Place (1978) was one of the rare additions to the historical perception made classic by Viola Klein (The Feminine Character, 1946).

While many of these studies attempted to depict women from accepted structures already developed by mainstream social science, shorter articles appearing in specialized journals began to critique disciplines themselves and suggested new theories or approaches to elucidate woman's contributions to human life. Sally Slocum (1975) suggested, for example, that the Man-the-Hunter image in anthropology was an instance of male bias, that the correct description should be Woman-the-Gatherer. Heidi Hartmann (1976) provocatively suggested that capitalism and patriarchy, as features of woman's place, had to be understood in a particular relationship to women in history.

Many important geographic issues and concepts were drawn into the theoretical arena of the new controversies, although geography itself remained relatively quiet.

Eli Zaretski convincingly argued that the geographical separation of work and family life under capitalism is critical to the understanding of women (1976; also Clark, 1919). Anthropologists (Whyte, 1978; Martin & Voorhies, 1975) as well as economist Ester Boserup (1970) began reconstructions of the interface between hoe agriculture and plow agriculture on the position of women in production and in society. Some of this work was hinted in the ideas of Carl Sauer decades earlier (1940).

Several of the issues raised by this new round of research, then, bear directly on geographic concerns about the public and private sphere, vegetative foodstuff production, women and hoe agriculture, or the separation of workplace and homeplace. Spatial and temporal questions of this nature are amenable to geographic analsysis. Will this research however lead to new perceptions of women, will it be adapted into earlier models of social organization, or will it generate new paradigms for geography itself? In order to deal with these questions about present and future studies, we need some understanding of the structural and theoretical insights geographers have brought to the subject in the past. Are there certain ideas which predominate historically? Are historical periods of thought identifiable?

This paper attempts to answer a part of those questions. The examination of a wide array of geographies written over the past 200 years, with a concentration in 20th century American works, led to the hypothesis that geographic ideas about women have developed and have been structured through two major "views" or "paradigms" about the nature of social organization itself. These two fundamentally different interpretations of human labor, livelihood, and production--which I call the ethnographic paradigm and the economic paradigm--have structured the "windows" of seeing and not seeing women in the geographic drama. The diagnostic clue between these views lies in the concept "division of labor", "livelihood" and "productive".

DEFINITIONS

In the ethnographic paradigm, division of labor between the sexes is held as the explicit basis of production and livelihood. Thus the work of

both women and men is conceived as productive labor and is often explicitly discussed as such. This view of society, developing from the descriptive geographic compendia of the 18th and 19th centuries, may in part reflect the interest in variety articulated by the Encyclopedistés, but it may also reflect the descriptive nature of unlinked details provided by travelers and missionaries. Exotic (socially or physically distant) societies were often interpreted through this light ethnographic lens which tended to bring out the productive, reproductive, non-traditional actions of women. An excellent example of such a work is Alexander Cooke, Universal Geography, circa 1800. Ultimately, this view of social organization finds expression only in the description of "savage", "primitive", "subsistence" societies though it has theoretical implications as well. The "customs and manners" sections of these older works, then, provided a kind of structural background for later ethnographic research, which today is embodied in cultural anthropology.

The roots and assumptions of the economic paradigm are quite different. Adapted from classical political economy, the intersection of human action and livelihood is presumed to be remunerated labor. Adam Smith (An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 1776), who provided the original outline of this view, regards the domestic (or particular) economy as separate from the political economy, but dicusses it just long enough to dismiss its importance to the ultimate wealth and accumulation of power. Because wage labor and domestic labor, however, became dimensionalized by place and gender over the next centuries (Clark, 1919: 296) the implicit assumption that wage labor is the basis of livelihood and production in fact predisposes one to view male occupations, and the division of labor among men, as the productive part of human enterprise.

Geographers have adapted this view of productive labor to the concept of "occupational specialization" which is, in use, often synonymous with the idea of occupational differentiation between categories of wage labor males. In this construct, women's labor is compressed around a nebulous concept of the "domestic economy", "non productive" work, or work having no diagnostic consequence for the consideration of livelihood pattern. Women's labor in the "housewife" capacity is ignored (Secombe, 1973: 4); women's labor

is not necessarily regarded as "work" because much of their "work" is not remunerated (Bengston, 1972: 12), and even their use value production in agriculture, etc., is often omitted (Silpila, 1979). Only when women enter the "male domain" of wage labor are they considered as productive laborers, and then usually it is in those cases, such as textiles which are numerically dominated by women (a similar case in history is reported by Beard, 1937).

The economic and the ethnographic paradigm have been utilized as a dual mode of description and theory about social organization for much of the past 200 years. Ethnographic perceptions are generally reserved for "exotic" or subsistence peoples, economic perceptions are ellicited to describe and define commercially dominated peoples. For this reason, explicit presentation of women in production and in reproduction have been more characteristic of descriptions of subsistence cultures than in commercially based cultures, although in the latter case, a few direct references to special instances of female wage labor appear.

"Sexism", if conceived as omission, distortion, or stereotyping exists within these paradigms at various levels which are important to separate. The theoretical structure of the paradigm must be distinguished from the content of the paradigm at a particular time in geographical writing. From this point of view, the ethnographic paradigm would appear "unbiased" at the structural level, while the economic paradigm might appear "biased" or male centric at this level, due to the systematic exclusion of women and women's work (as domestic or use value labor) from its theory of production (Markusen, 1977). This is, in part, true. The emphasis on wage labor in the marketplace has recently been criticized for the significant omission of women's use value labor (Bengston, 1972), domestic labor (Fee, 1976) and for misinterpretation of its hidden role in creating surplus value (Deere, 1976).

The content of these paradigms is more difficult to assess than the structure. Historically there have been tremendous changes in the content of the ethnographic paradigm, which bear serious consideration, while the economic paradigm appears somewhat more stable, though trending toward larger and larger aggregates of human populations. For this reason, the

next part of this discussion will focus on historical changes in the content of the ethnographic paradigm and the gradual erosion of its range of application.

VICTORIAN IMAGERY: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PARADIGM BECOMES A BIOLOGICAL MODEL OF MAN'S ROLE, WOMAN'S PLACE

Late 19th century ideas about the innate difference of male and female seriously altered the content of the ethnographic paradigm. Studies in anatomy and metabolism were to provide a new scientific matrix for analyzing sex difference and sex attribute. Geographers were attracted to these new "metabolic" metaphors because they appeared to capture and explain events and actions suggested by research into prehistory and "primitive" societies, but did not violate the basic cultural presumption that men were cerebral, women were maternal; or to use the words of Sherry Ortner, "man is to culture as woman is to nature" (1972).

The dualism centered on the metabolic terms anabolism and catabolism (also katabolism). Women were symbolized as "anabolic" that is, constructive of complex organic compounds by the addition of heat; men were viewed as "catabolic" or destructive of complex organic compounds by the loss of heat (see Rothman, 1968, for social implications of theory). Anabolic energy was then extended to mean conservative, centripetal, maternal, while catabolic energy came to mean scattering, progressive, centrifugal. Charlotte Perkins Gilman encapsulates these ideas in the late 19th century: "While the male savage was still a mere hunter and fighter, expressing masculine energy, the katabolic force, along its essential line, expanding, scattering, the female savage worked out in equally natural ways the conserving force of female energy" (1966 ed.: 126). She goes on to suggest that maternal energy is the source of the first human arts and crafts. Anthropologist Otis Mason broadcasts the same dualism:

> ...man and woman set forth hand in hand, the former to outwit, the latter to conserve and elaborate the result of victory; the former to explore and wander, the latter to settle down and congregate; the former becoming dispersive or centrifugal, the latter unifying and centripetal; the former developing the militant spirit, the latter the industrial spirit.
>
> Mason, 1899: 273

Reclus (1891: 58-59) draws on similar ideas to suggest maternal sources for the elaboration of shelter, domestication of plants and animals, and guardianship of fire.

In the twentieth century these ideas reemerge in the writings of Sauer (1967) and in Lewis Mumford. Mumford extends the notion of maternalism as a creative force behind the domestication of plants and animals, to the creation of the first containers, and to the beginning of settlements as "the collective nest for the care and nurture of the young....Security, receptivity, enclosure, nurture--these functions belong to woman....House and village, eventually town itself, are woman writ large" (Mumford, 1961: 12-13).

Two aspects of this particular form of the ethnographic paradigm are critical in this analysis. First, the resurrection of an old dichotomy of woman as maternal and instinctual/man and intellectual and reasoning allows for an integration of "anomalous" data within a traditional view of male and female. While superficially granting woman a place in history (a potentially revolutionary concept) it is in fact a traditional place which serves to reinforce ethnocentric biases. Secondly, the constriction of woman's place in history to a vague (conjectured) role in prehistory and a vague place among subsistence peoples, exhibits still more strongly the denial of woman's contribution to the bulk of human cultural and technical "progress". In accord with Montesquieu's (1912 edition) concept that "savage" peoples were more determined in social institutions by their environment and that progressively societies became more in control of their situations, and in accord with the ideas expressed by Morgan (1877) that growth of intelligence through invention and discovery are at the key to analysis of modes of production and human history, there is an unmistakable hidden presumption that woman's maternal energy (not being reason) could only dominate human culture at the outer perimeters of progress. Even as late as 1913, the idea that "The races lowest in civilization are most completely slaves to their environment, exercising only the animal powers... (whereas) civilization may be looked on as the result of men using their power of changing the natural surrounding" (Mill, 1913: 359, 358)

appeals to the inherent dichotomy between instinct and reason as the forces behind social organization. It is clear therefore that the identification of human reason and intellect, transferred into tools, power, and technologies, is viewed as a male domain even within the structure of a complementary, interdependent paradigm of gender relations. Thus there is no challenge to the primary presumption of male superiority or male domination of the "higher" forces behind human change. Further, this view fuels an orientation toward women as ahistorically bound by biology and universal categories of child rearing.

ASCENDANCY OF THE ECONOMIC PARADIGM IN THE 20TH CENTURY: AN ECONOMIC MODEL OF MAN'S ROLE, WOMAN'S PLACE

Historically, the ethnographic perception (restricted in scope and application before the 20th century) is seriously challenged as a view of subsistence peoples after World War I. Encroachment of economic assumptions appears in description, selection of data, characterization of societies, and even in the categorization of cultures.

Social and economic forces bring out a number of intellectual questions, disturbing issues, and outright challenges to "Victorian" perceptions and presumptions during the years after World War I and into the early 1930s. The discontinuity of social science focus is documented in many disciplines (Samuel in history, 1980; van den Berghe in sociology, 1968; Rothman, in the history of ideas about women, 1978). Variously described as a shift from geographical to technological determinism, social darwinism to cultural relativism, the rejection of older conceptions is also felt by geographers. James (1972: 397-398) characterizes this post war change as an erosion of the concept of geographic determinism and the supplanting of "purely academic studies to the use of geographic concepts and methods in the study of practical economic, social and political questions". Sauer claims "The growth of American geography came largely at a time when it seemed reasonable to conclude that under any given situation of natural environment there was one best, most economical expression of use, adjustment or response" (Sauer, 1967: 354).

The war, the depression, and an attempt to build academic departments in the face of serious social questions accelerated the adoption of the economic paradigm

for a now dominant focus on industrialized nations, commodity studies, and resource inventories. A brilliant appeal by A.J. Herbertson (1910) for the practical use of geography for intelligence and economic planning pinpointed the utility of concise regional studies. A similar point is made by Whittlesey in 1941.

The new philosophy of progress was to rest on material and technical achievements, abandoning the older view of "enlightened" social progress. "Standard of living" came to have particular economic and social ramifications. James Bossard, writing in 1930, captures the sentiment.

> So much has been accomplished during recent years by way of technological advance that it is taken for granted that there are virtually no limitations to the inventive genius of man. While this belief may not be warranted, nevertheless the material progress effected through science during recent centuries has been so continuous that such a belief is not unnatural.
>
> Out of this background emerges the characterizing philosophy of our time, namely, that man is the master of his fate, that he need not submit, and that there really is no virtue in continuing to submit, to the limitations imposed upon him by the force of nature or the follies of man.
>
> (Bossard, 1930: 7)

Charles Beard, also writing in 1932, enthusiastically embraces the concept of "national planning" (1932: 117) as a rational means to use technology in the "productive" economy. In the following year he views the New Deal as part of a "new technological revolution" (Beard, 1933, ix).

Geographical works express a similar fascination with national planning, utilitarianism, economics, and resource analyses. Long term views of human history are eclipsed by all that appears vital and "modern". Economic growth, seen as a unifying international force, preempts a consideration of the seemingly "academic" and impractical questions of the past.

CASE HISTORY: DEPICTIONS OF THE ESKIMO -- ETHNOGRAPHIC TO ECONOMIC PRESUMPTIONS

Detailed study of the portrayal of a subsistence people, the Eskimo, illustrates the complex historical relation of the ethnographic and the economic paradigm, and of the expanded utilization of economic concepts after World War I.

From at least the middle of the 18th century until World War I, the ethnographic paradigm served as a model for the description of the Eskimo. Women and men were customarily depicted as interdependent, active hard laboring persons in an exceedingly hostile environment. Discussion of women's roles in the manufacture of clothing, tents, boats, their association with the gathering of birds' eggs, hunting of caribou, fishing, or involvement in religious ceremonies was not uncommon. Even such anomalous functions as the building of stone huts or the rowing of the large transportation boats, the umiaks, was frequently reported. Survival appears as the interaction of male and female associated material and social culture. It is explicitly described as such.

> The men make their hunting and fishing implements, and prepare the wood-work of their boats, and the women cover them with skins. The men hunt and fish; but when they have towed their booty to land, they trouble themselves no further about it....The women are the butchers and cooks, and also the curriers to dress the pelts, and make cloaths, shoes, and boots out of them; so that they are likewise both shoemakers and taylors. The women also build and repair the houses and tents, so far as relates to the masonry, the men doing only the carpenter's work.
>
> (Cooke, ca. 1800, vol. 2: 214)

Cooke insists on a multiplicity of food resources: sea mammals (including whale and seal), land animals (hares, reindeer, white bears), fish (herring, cod, flounder), and vegetation (mosses and berries) (Cooke, ca. 1800, vol. 2: 210-212).

Description of Eskimo life becomes increasingly male defined or male centric as the twentieth century progresses. After World War I, a descriptive and linguistic pattern begins to develop the hidden dichotomy of the male as the active core of Eskimo survival and the female as the passive dependent. Enterprises of women which contradict this emerging ethnocentric picture of Eskimo life are lost through obscuring language or omission. Male enterprises, which become generic Eskimo culture, are described in the active voice with elaborate use of diagnostic adjectives such as "inventive", "skillful", and, above all, "ingenious". Female enterprises are described in the passive

voice, with skeletal use of adjectives, and a tendency to place the object as subject of the sentence instead of the human actor (ess?), such as "clothing is made from seal skins" rather than "women skillfully create down insulated jackets". By contrast, "men hunt" and "men build". Such phrases and verb selections implicitly developed the unstated view that men have an active, manipulative and inventive relationship to the environment, while women are in a passive and biologically constrained relationship to culture and to the environment.

This interpenetration of economically or ethnocentrically derived models of society are even more apparent in the "Man the Hunter" depictions which clearly emerge by the 1940s. Davis succinctly demonstrates this orientation: "The Polar Eskimo hunts summer and winter, both on land and the sea. On his success depend his life and that of his family, for all his food is obtained from animals, which explains why the best hunters are so highly respected; they are good providers" (Davis, 1943: 365). A similar view is taken by White and Foscue: "Eskimos, who constitute nine tenths of the (tundra) population, are hunters" (White and Foscue, 1943: 848).

While men's action becomes generic Eskimo life, women's action becomes compressed around stereotyped "housewife" or "motherly" functions which are said to be "adapted" to climate (for example, clothing as described by White and Renner, 1948: 255). Davis, in fact, in 1943 is the first instance noted in this study to use the term "Eskimo housewife" in a context clearly intended to project an economic picture of a dependent female, a domestic woman (Davis, 1943: 365).

Encroachment of certain ideas about the relationship of men and women--that is, male provider, female dependent--over the ethnographic view of male and female as interdependent creates the necessity to blur certain non-traditional aspects of each sphere of action. This accounts for unusual assertions that Eskimo women are, contrary to earlier portrayals, quite like Western women, indeed like all women. This blending of concepts also permits a smooth intellectual transition to appear in the discussion of what is now presumed to be a male based pre-Western economy to a post-contact male (wage labor) based economy. Obviated is any need to describe the effect of contact on the labor and position of woman, now having been rendered universal.

Thus "Man the Hunter" (Slocum, 1975) or "Man the Hunter and Provider" (introduction Etienne and Leacock, 1980) images do not dominate geographic description until the 20th century. Survival in the tundra, once described as a complex of clothing, fuel, shelter, food, and social mechanisms, is reduced to a neo-Malthusian focus on food after World War I, despite the fact that they are the only known people to subsist predominantly on animal flesh (Service, 1966). This short case history thus shows the encroachment of the idea of men as supporter of dependent families (assumptions from the economic paradigm) onto the ethnographic model of society.

What does this mean for the elucidation of women's roles in society? Quite simply, the material on women diminishes quantitatively and qualitatively with the professionalization of geography during this century. Omission, as well as projection of stereotyped, ethnocentric views of women facilitate real loss of knowledge about women in "near" and also in "exotic" cultures.

"Sexism" as a term is thus more complex that it first appears. If it is the conscious or unconscious distortion, omission, or stereotyping of material at various level of abstraction, then both the ethnographic and the economic paradigms are at least somewhat "sexist". Within the former, particularly during the late 19th and early 20th century, biological and functional images of sex difference served to produce an exaggeration of women as maternal, men as progressive. Within the latter, the economic view, the primary form of "sexism" lies in the presumption of men as productive, women as dependent. Omission of use value, reproductive, or social services essential to survival, and the use of "neutral" language which is, in fact, male biased, are further limitations of this view. Finally, women in this view are noted only when they enter the male domain of wage labor.

As subsistence lifeways are continually eroded, the attraction of the economic paradigm of production dominates human geography. As a means to view women, however, it may prove unserviceable in its present form. Interesting new formulations have already been suggested from economists and third world development specialists. These bear scrutiny.

NEW CONCEPTIONS OF PRODUCTION

Ann Markusen (1977) calls for the conception of the household as a unit of production. She claims the disregard of the economic value of the household labor has led to the misleading conclusion that the household is either unproductive, or merely a consuming unit. Both views, she asserts, ignore the real economic value of women's household labors (Markusen, 1977:3).

The U.S. Agency for International Development echoes the sentiment that at least some of women's household labors, which are unpaid, should be conceived as part of national "production".

> One of the first hurdles (in obtaining new perceptions of foreign aid development) is to perceive women not only as childbearers and homemakers, but also as a productive force not conveniently measured in terms of wages but crucial to the output of the primary sector....(including) recognition of the economic value of women's work in the home in domestic food production and marketing and voluntary activities not remunerated.
>
> (Office of Women in Development, 1978: 26, 28)

Ms. Sipila, a high ranking official of the United Nations, concurs with the idea that national economic statistics often conceal more than they reveal about women's status. These official labor statistics underrepresent women in the productive labor force, underestimate the value of that work, ignore home activities (which are not even quantified as "work")and ignore women's subsistence activities. In short, she charges that these figures omit most of women's actual labor (Sipila, 1979).

Economist Ester Boserup (1972) demonstrates male bias in the labeling of agricultural systems. By simply redefining certain hoe agricultural and shifting cultivation systems in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia, as "Female Agricultural Systems" as opposed to plow-based "Male Agricultural Systems", she has revealed interesting geographic patterns and historical changes in the nature of production.

Finally, there is evidence that a "basic needs" concept of production may incorporate information about women's and men's true relationships to livelihood. This new conception is based partly on the need to overturn what is conceived as an outdated presumption that only men

are economically productive.

> The policies of international "development" institutions have remained in the face of all the evidence, based on the assumption that only men are of economic importance.... Many development specialists are beginning to turn their attention to the concept of 'basic needs'; in other words, the essential items for day-to-day subsistence such as food, clothing, and housing.
>
> U.N. Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs pamphlet, adapted from Africa Guide, 1979 "A Woman's Place"

A basic model typology for such a new conception of "production" is perhaps provided by the lengthly appendix to Naomi Giffen's book on Men and Women in Eskimo Society (1930). In a comprehensive fashion, this outline interweaves information on social and material culture characteristics of men and women in chart form, and indicates those geographic regions in which such patterns prevail. Addition of pertinent information about how "work" is carried out, whether use value or exchange value, would appear as relatively easy amplifications of such a typology. Certainly class issues would also be vital.

It is clear that reversion to a priori assumptions about the structural relations of men and women have clouded perception of "woman's real place". Typologies of production which develop around actions deemed essential to the production and reproduction of social forms might provide a new "paradigm" in which to conceive production, lifeway, and livelihood.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, this paper has traced two paradigms of production through the history of geography in order to demonstrate that a priori ideas about human society may have structured our perception and our misperception of women. The two dominant paradigms appear to account for the seemingly discordant view of women as producers (and domestic workers) in "exotic" societies, and only the appearance of women as wage laborers in commercial societies. Obviously omitted are domestic workers in commercial societies.

Structurally the ethnographic paradigm emphasizes an interdependence between the sexes, the economic paradigm, male dominance. Historically

these patterns are rooted in and reflect prevailing social attitudes, the most fundamental being the complex metaphor "male is to culture as female is to nature" or as expressed here, "Man's Role, Woman's Place".

Sexism within the content of the ethnographic paradigm appeared in the latter part of the 19th century as a exaggerated duality of innate sex difference. Women were seen as maternal, men as intellectual and progressive. "Sexism" within the economic paradigm reflects more a predisposition toward male centrism in the definition of important domains, and in the inclusion of women only as they appear in that framework.

Historically the ethnographic paradigm has been important in the description of prehistory (speculative prehistory) or subsistence peoples, while the economic paradigm has been utilized to explain commercial peoples. Since 1920, however, the major tenet of the economic paradigm--the idea that men support women--has been extended into the assessment of subsistence peoples, with the resulting decline in knowledge about women.

Neither of these approaches to production deals adequately with the concept of production. Laden with a priori standards, concepts, and images, both of these views have serious internal flaws. A new paradigm of production, based on a typology of basic need (elaborated into social and material culture) may be one possibility. Brunhes in Human Geography anticipates such a view of production as basic need or "the prime necessities of life". He writes, "Food, a dwelling, and clothing--such, then, are the three essentials of what is called economic geography" (Brunhes, 1952: 31-32). Perhaps this is a fortuitous place to begin reconstructing a new conception of livelihood and production.

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